

Chapter Six

Endnotes

1. Warren Commission, 30 April 1964, executive session transcript, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland (hereafter cited as NARA], 42
2. Warren Commission, 30 April, 1964, executive session transcript, NARA, 10; Harold Weisberg, Whitewash II: FBI-Secret Service Coverup (Hyattstown, Maryland: Harold Weisberg, 1966), 10. The number of transcript pages of Marina's six appearances before the Commission (February, June, and September] total an impressive and unequalled 599 pages. See Marina Oswald to Ward & Paul, 10/7/1964 of 917 G. Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. Ward & Paul was the firm that provided the stenographic work for the Warren Commission executive sessions. Priscilla Johnson McMillan, Marina and Lee (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), 563. For the FBI's "June Mail" file on Marina ("June Mail" was the FBI's designation for electronic surveillance), see the five sections under the FBI's "June Mail" Marina Oswald File, 105-126082.
3. McMillan, Marina and Lee, 559-581.
4. For a hundred or more of these letters to Marina care of the Dallas FBI see Main Dallas Marina Oswald File, 105-1435A, serials 1-192. DeLoach to Mohr, 3/3/1964, HQ Marina Oswald File, 105-126032-Not Recorded (hereafter cited as NR]; Hoover to Rankin, 4/30/1963, Warren Commission Document 880, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Wallace R. Heitman Report, 1/5/1965, HQ Marina Oswald File, 105-126032-NR. The outpouring of support for Marina was nothing compared to the flood of donations murdered Dallas police officer J.D. Tippit's widow received. Mrs. Tippit suddenly found herself a wealthy woman. The widow and her three children were the beneficiaries of about \$650,000. Abraham Zapruder turned over his first-payment check of \$25,000 from *Time-Life* for the purchase of his film on the assassination to the Tippit family. Walter H. Annenberg, wealthy publisher of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* paid off the balance (\$12, 217.00) of the Tippit mortgage. See the *Washington Star*, 11/21/1965.
5. For Kelley's account see Warren Commission Report: Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964], 629-632 (hereafter cited as WCR]; Weisberg, Whitewash II, 13-15; a synopsis of the Kunkel-Howard interrogation can be found in the Rankin Papers, box 10, folder 164, NARA.
6. James W. Bookout to Shanklin, 11/22/1963, Main Dallas JFK Assassination File, 89-43-44; FBI summaries of interviews with Marina Oswald, 11/23/1963, Warren Commission Document 83, National Archives, Washington D.C.

(hereafter cited as Warren Commission Document 83]; for a summary of FBI efforts to interview Marina on 11/26 and 11/27/1963 see Rankin Papers, box 10, folder 164, NARA.

7. Shanklin to File, 11/28/1963, Main Dallas JFK Assassination File, 89-43-1294.

8. James R. Malley to SAC (Special-Agent-in-Charge] Dallas, 11/28/1963, Main Dallas JFK Assassination File, 89-43-1299; Malley to SAC, Dallas, 11/28/1963, Main Dallas JFK Assassination File, 89-43-1299.

9. Shanklin to File, 11/28/1963, Main Dallas JFK Assassination File, 89-43-1296; McMillan, Marina and Lee, 563.

10. Shanklin to File, 11/29/1963, Main Dallas JFK Assassination File, 89-43-1297. For a detailed treatment of Oswald in Mexico see Chapter 3.

11. Heitman to File, 11/30/1963, Main Dallas JFK Assassination File, 89-43-1421.

12. *Investigation of the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Hearings Before the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964) Warren, Vol. I, 80 (hereafter cited as 1H 80); Heitman draft of report entitled "Biographic Information on Mrs. Oswald and Her Relatives," 6-7, Warren Commission Document 361; 5H 609; Weisberg, Whitewash I, 9-23.

13. Shanklin to File, 11/29/1963, Main Dallas JFK Assassination File, 89-43-1297; Hoover to Rankin, 2/19/1964, HQ FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-NR, 1H 14.

14. Shanklin to File, 11/29/1963, Main Dallas JFK Assassination File, 89-43-1297; Hoover to Rankin, 2/19/1964, HQ FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-NR, FBI interview with Marina Oswald, 1/29/1964, Warren Commission Document 83; 5H 613.

15. Bookout to Shanklin, 11/22/1963, Main Dallas JFK Assassination File, 89-43-44; FBI interviews with Marina Oswald for 11/27 and 12/3/1963, Warren Commission Document 83.

16. 1H 3; FBI interview with Marina Oswald, 12/17/1963 by Heitman can be found in Rankin Papers, "Investigation & Evidence" File 12, box 4, folder 2 (Marina Oswald), NARA; 1H67 and 5H593. On the travel bags Oswald took on his Mexico trip see Coleman-Slawson to Jenner-Liebeler, 12 March 1965, Rankin Papers, "Investigation & Evidence" File, box 4, folder 2, (Marina Oswald), ibid. and Director, FBI, to SAC,

Dallas, 4/28/1964, FBI Mexico City File, 105-3702-816 and 856. For Ruth H. Paine's Commission testimony see 2H 495 and 3H 20-25.

17. Warren Commission, 30 April 1964, executive session transcript, NARA, 10-11.

18. Heitman interview with Marina Oswald, 12/13/1963, Rankin Papers, "Investigation Evidence" File 12, box 4, folder 2, NARA; FBI interviews with Marina Oswald for 12/3, 12/11, and 12/11/1963, Warren Commission Document 83; 1H 14-18, 38-40; 1H 93.

19. WCR, 404-406.

20. For the "Nixon incident" see 1H333-342 for Robert Oswald's Warren Commission testimony; FBI interviews with Marina Oswald 2/24, 2/27, 6/5, and 6/8/1964 see Warren Commission Document 83; McMillan, Marina and Lee, 368-370; Branigan to Sullivan, 2/19/1964, HQ FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-NR.

21. Mosk to Redlich, 6/7/1964, Rankin Papers, "Investigation & Evidence," File 12, box 35, folder 459, NARA; Shanklin to File, 6/10/1964, Main Dallas Oswald File, 100-10461-6620.

22. For Ford, Russell, and Redlich quotes see *San Francisco Examiner*, 1/4/1979 or see a reproduction of Redlich's memo to Rankin in *Investigation of the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy*, Appendix to Hearings before the Select Committee on Assassinations of the U.S. House of Representatives, 95th Congress, 2nd session (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), 126-127. For Russell's exchange with Marina that gave vent to his irritation see Marina's 6 September 1964 Commission testimony 5H607-610.

23. Heitman report, 12/13/1963, Rankin Papers, "Investigation & Evidence," (Marina File), box 4, folder 2, NARA and FBI report, Commission Exhibit 1403, 733-744, found in 22H777. Heitman report, ibid. and WCR, 282 for the DeMohrenschildt's Saturday visit to the Oswalds. For Mrs. DeMohrenschildt's spotting of the rifle in the closet see 9H314, and Heitman report, ibid. 2-3

24. Conrad to Belmont, 12/4/1963, HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-7132; Jevons to Conrad, 3/27/1964, HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-2845; Conrad to Belmont, 12/4/1963, HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-7132. For Marina's contradictory statements about Lee's slipping off at night to "Love Field" to practice with his rifle see Dallas Report, 2/18/1964, FBI HQ Oswald File, 105-82555-2579, Section 103, 42-47.

25. For FBI reports on the search see HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-10960-serials 1960, 1890, and 1958; Rosen to Belmont, 2/12/1964, HQ FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-NR; Mosk memo to Redlich, 6/7/1964, Rankin Papers, box 35, folder

459, NARA, 9-10. Mosk's frustrated efforts to come up with any credible evidence that Oswald had practiced with the Mannlicher-Carcano before his alleged attempt on General Walker and prior to the assassination of JFK was not because the FBI failed to undertake a "turn-over-every-stone" investigation into this area of the case. The one gun shop in the Dallas area that sold 6.5 mm manufactured by Western Cartridge Company was owned by John H. Brinegar. When the FBI tracked him down and showed him a photo of Oswald Brinegar was unable to identify "this individual as being a person to whom he had previously sold 6.5 ammunition." See Gemberling Report, 4/15/1964, FBI HQ Oswald File, 105-82555-3464, Section 141, 114. The FBI contacted 164 other gun shops in the Dallas area that handled rifle ammunition but none of these stocked 6.5 Mannlicher-Carcano Western Cartridge Company ammunition. See Gemberling Report, ibid., 91-106. For the FBI's investigation of the shooting ranges in the Dallas area see Gemberling Report, section E. Alleged Target Practice by Lee Harvey Oswald, FBI HQ Oswald File, 105-82555-1212, Section 55, 89-138. The Dallas office also conducted an intensive investigation of the levee on both sides of the Trinity River that runs through Dallas. This so-called "Trinity river bottom" in the vicinity of Love Field was a favorite spot for people to test fire rifles. The FBI interviewed more than 50 people who lived near the west and east side of the Trinity River if they ever saw Oswald practicing with a rifle. All of them were shown a photo of Oswald and none reported ever seeing him in this vicinity at any time. See Gemberling Report, 4/15/1964, FBI HQ Oswald File, 105-82555-3404, Section 141, 111-123.

26. WCR, 186-187. Frazier was one of the select FBI agent specialists especially trained by the FBI to testify in court cases on ballistic matters. See Sanford J. Unger, FBI: An Uncensored Look Behind the Walls (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1975), 153-154. For Frazier's Commission testimony on 31 March 1964 see 3H 391-441.

27. Branigan to Sullivan, 2/20/1964, HQ FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-NR; James J. Rowley to Rankin, 2/26/1964, Rankin Papers, "Investigation & Evidence" File 12, box 4, folder 2, NARA; Hoover memo, 2/18/1964, HQ FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-NR, see three-page report attached; Hoover to Rankin, 2/20/1964, HQ FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-NR.

28. Hoover memo, 2/24/1964, HQ FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-NR; Kyle G. Clark to SAC, Dallas, 2/24/1964, Main Dallas Oswald File, 100-10461-376(obliterated).

29. Hoover to Rankin, 6/4/1964, HQ FBI Liaison with Commission, 62-109090-NR; FBI interviews with Marina Oswald, Warren Commission Document 83; Branigan to Sullivan, 11/25/1964, HQ FBI Liaison with Commission, 62-109090-(obliterated)398; Hoover memo, 2/24/1964, HQ FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-1-9090-NR, 5-6.

30. Warren Commission, 21 January 1964, executive session transcript, NARA. The Commission spent most of this session on working out a modus vivendi with the lawyer handpicked by Martin to handle Marina's affairs to assure that she would appear as a

witness before the Commission before the publication of any articles or book. The Commission gave more attention to this matter than it did, for example, to an examination of the evidence in the Walker shooting. For McCloy and Dulles on Levine see pages 110-111 of the 21 January 1964 transcript. Slawson to Rankin, et. al., Rankin Papers, box 18, folder 290, NARA; Anatole A. Boguslav to Shanklin, 3/3/1964, FBI Marina Oswald Transcripts, HQ Marina Oswald File, ["June Mail"], 105-126032, 6-7.

31. Hoover memo, 2/24/1964, HQ FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-NR; Hoover memo to Attorney General (Katzenbach, Acting AG), 2/24/1964, HQ Oswald File, ("June Mail"), 105-82555-2402; Clark to SAC, Dallas, 2/24/1964, Main Dallas Oswald File, 100-10461-376(obliterated).

32. Kyle G. Clark to SAC, Dallas, 2/27/1964, Lee Harvey Oswald File, 66-1313A-5, ("June Mail"); Shanklin to File, 3/2/1964, Lee Harvey Oswald File, 66-1313A-19; Shanklin to File, 3/5/1964, Lee Harvey Oswald File, ("June Mail"), 66-1313A-14. The FBI technician who installed the "misurs" in Marina's new residence was Nat Pinkston. He entered her residence through a crawl space under the house when Marina was not at home. See James P. Hosty, Jr. with Thomas Hosty, Assignment: Oswald (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1996), 110.

33. SA Newsom to SAC, Dallas, 3/2/1964, (serial masked); SAC, Dallas, to Director, 3/2/1964, HQ Oswald File, ["June Mail]," 105-82555-2363; Branigan to Sullivan, 3/16/1964, HQ Oswald File, ["June Mail]," 105-82555-2642; SAC, Dallas, to Director, 7/3/1967, HQ Oswald File, ["June Mail]," 105-82555-5585; Branigan to Sullivan, 7/14/1967, HQ Oswald File, ["June Mail]," 105-82555-5887.

34. Branigan to Sullivan, 3/5/1964, HQ Oswald File, ["June Mail]," 105-82555-2588.

35. In 1975 a former unnamed FBI official disclosed publicly the wire tapping of Marina Oswald. The story in the papers quoted two of the former Commission lawyers, David W. Belin and Albert E. Jenner, and their strong reactions to this revelation, charging that the Commission assistant counsels were kept in the dark about this electronic surveillance. Belin was quoted as saying "it strikes me as horrible" if true. See the *New York Times* 10/30/1975 and *The Dallas Morning News*, 11/1/1975.

36. Shanklin to File, 3/9/1964, Lee Harvey Oswald File, 66-1313A-21; Shanklin to File, 3/8/1964, Lee Harvey Oswald File, 66-1313-20; SAC, Dallas to File, 3/12/1964, Lee Harvey Oswald File, 66-1313A-22; SAC, Dallas to Director, FBI, 4/17/1964, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1633; Director, FBI to SAC, Dallas, 4/27/1964 ("June Mail"), FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1633a; Director, FBI to SAC, Dallas, 10/14/1964, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1633e. The reasons for Hoover's displeasure with FBI Dallas is covered in chapters 11 and 12.

37. Branigan to Sullivan, 4/7/1964, HQ Oswald File, ["June Mail]," 105-82555-3144; Branigan to Sullivan, 3/5/1964, HQ Oswald File, ["June Mail]," 105-82555-2588; Rosen to Belmont, 3/6/1964, HQ Oswald File, ["June Mail]," 105-82555-2587, see Belmont's 3/12/1964 attached memo. Dallas, to Director, 7/3/1967, HQ Oswald File, ["June Mail]," 105-82555-5585; Director to SAC, Dallas, 7/17/1967, HQ Oswald File, ["June Mail]," 105-82555-5585; Branigan to Sullivan, 7/14/1967, HQ Oswald File, ["June Mail]," 105-82555-5587.
38. Branigan to Sullivan, 11/25/1964, HQ FBI Liaison with Commission File, 62-109090-(obliterated)398; 1H79-80 for Marina's criticism of the FBI at her first appearance before the Warren Commission.
39. See Heitman reports to Director, FBI, HQ Marina Oswald File, 105-126032, serials 104-108.
40. "Marina's Story," Ladies' Home Journal (May 1993), 158.
41. 5H608-610; for her "Regretfully, yes" see 1H122.
42. Myrna Blyth and Jane Farrell, "Marina Oswald: Twenty-Five Years Later," Ladies' Home Journal, (November 1993), 188; *The Boston Globe*, 11/14/1993; "Marina's Story," Ladies' Home Journal (May 1988), 158.
43. "Marina's Story," Ladies' Home Journal (May 1993), 158.
44. WCR, 375-376, 389,
45. ibid., 388, 687.
46. ibid., 395, 398, 428-429.
47. ibid., Chapter 7 and 683-686.
48. ibid., 684-685; Stephen E. Ambrose, Ike's Spies: Eisenhower and the Espionage Establishment (New York: Doubleday, 1981), 249-251.
49. See the U.S. Navy's inquest of Martin D. Schrand (serial number 1639694). The author wishes to thank Harold Weisberg for allowing him to copy his file on Schrand.
50. Director to St. Louis, 11/29/1963, HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-394; Security Officer to Commanding Officer, MACS-1, 9 January 1958, U.S. Naval Air Station, Cubi Point, Philippines, Schrand Investigation; Judge Advocate General to Commandant of the Marine Corps, 30 April 1964, signed by Wilfred Hearn, Schrand investigation.
51. 19H676, 680.

43. "Marina's Story," Ladies' Home Journal (May 1993), 158.
44. WCR, 375-376, 389,
45. ibid., 383, 687.
46. ibid., 395, 398, 428-429.
47. ibid., Chapter 7 and 683-686. *eliminate? no just reference if used*
48. ibid., 684-685; Stephen E. Ambrose, Ike's Spies: Eisenhower and the Espionage Establishment (New York: Doubleday, 1981), 249-251.
49. See the U.S. Navy's inquest of Martin D. Schrand (serial number 1639694). The author wishes to thank Harold Weisberg for allowing him to copy his file on Schrand.
50. Director to St. Louis, 11/29/1963, HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-394; Security Officer to Commanding Officer, MACS-1, 9 January 1958, U.S. Naval Air Station, Cubi Point, Philippines, Schrand Investigation; Judge Advocate General to Commandant of the Marine Corps, 30 April 1964, signed by Wilfred Hearn, Schrand investigation.
51. 19H676, 680.
52. 22H77-79.
53. WCR, 746. See the 112 pages of photocopies of Oswald's Marine Corps records reproduced in 19H656-768. The most insightful analysis of Oswald's Marine Corps records is still Weisberg, Whitewash I, 123-124.
54. WCR, 375.
55. For a useful Commission summary of the Walker shooting see ibid., 183-186.
56. 18H638-639; 5H612. Rankin's opinion of Marina's "narrative" was that it was a "pretty good story for a magazine. It doesn't add anything," he told the Commission, "to what we know already." See Warren Commission, 21 January 1964, executive transcript, NARA, 100. But what the Commission chose to use and what to exclude from Marina's account illustrates how it went about building its "reasonable" case against Oswald. See The WCR, 420-421.

52. 22H77-79.

53. WCR, 746. See the 112 pages of photocopies of Oswald's Marine Corps records reproduced in 19H656-768. The most insightful analysis of Oswald's Marine Corps records is still Weisberg, Whitewash I, 123-124.

54. WCR, 375.

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23. Heitman report, 12/13/1963, Rankin Papers, "Investigation & Evidence," (Marina File), box 4, folder 2, NARA and FBI report, Commission Exhibit 1403, 733-744, found in 22H777. Heitman report, *ibid.* and WCR, 282 for the DeMohrenschildt's Saturday visit to the Oswalds. For Mrs. DeMohrenschildt's spotting of the rifle in the closet see 9H314, and Heitman report, *ibid.* 2-3

24. Conrad to Belmont, 12/4/1963, HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-7132; Jevons to Conrad, 3/27/1964, HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-2845; Conrad to Belmont, 12/4/1963, HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-7132.

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35. In 1975 a former unnamed FBI official disclosed publicly the wire tapping of Marina Oswald. The story in the papers quoted two of the former Commission lawyers, David W. Belin and Albert E. Jenner, and their strong reactions to this revelation, charging that the Commission assistant counsels were kept in the dark about this electronic surveillance. Belin was quoted as saying "it strikes me as horrible" if true. See the *New York Times* 10/30/1975 and *The Dallas Morning News*, 11/1/1975.
36. Shanklin to File, 3/9/1964, Lee Harvey Oswald File, 66-1313A-21; Shanklin to File, 3/8/1964, Lee Harvey Oswald File, 66-1313-20; SAC, Dallas to File, 3/12/1964, Lee Harvey Oswald File, 66-1313A-22; SAC, Dallas to Director, FBI, 4/17/1964, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1633; Director, FBI to SAC, Dallas, 4/27/1964 ("June Mail"), FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1633a; Director, FBI to SAC, Dallas, 10/14/1964, FBI Personnel Matters File, 67-425-1633e. The reasons for Hoover's displeasure with FBI Dallas is covered in chapters 11 and 12.
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42. Myrna Blyth and Jane Farrell, "Marina Oswald: Twenty-Five Years Later," Ladies' Home Journal, (November 1993), 188; *The Boston Globe*, 11/14/1993; "Marina's Story," Ladies' home Journal (May 1988), 158.